

## ON THE TRAIL OF LIZARD-MAN IN POLYNESIA

J.-L. Candelot  
Mo'orea

For some years, a similarity in certain petroglyphs of the Polynesian area has been noted. What the petroglyphs have in common is a representation of a hybrid being: half man and half lizard. As a preface to this study, the reader will need to go along with a certain degree of subjectivity in admitting that, among the crews of emigrating outriggers that came to people the various Polynesian archipelagoes, there were no systematically literate carriers of the traditions that might have survived the rigors of the voyage; and this is the measure in which one found a happy end simply by arriving in a virgin land. Therefore, in the multitude of Polynesian islands and islets, the transmission of knowledge, initial and initiating was done in an uneven way. Once one has survived in a place, one can then develop and grow in an autonomous way. In a new environment, one would sanctify it with new representations coming from the schema of remembrances of the culture of origin. Furthermore, we should expect to encounter in Polynesia strong local variations, but with motifs based on a foundation of common knowledge and expressed by symbols dating back to great antiquity.

The first document in this subject that attracted interest is the representation of a petroglyph recorded in 1958 in the Marquesas Islands, at Ha'akapa (Nuku Hiva) by the American archeologist Robert C. Suggs (1961), who named the figure "lizard-man". This figure (Figure 1c) appears to represent a hybrid being, half-human, half-saurian. Since then, other motifs (Figure 1) have been identified in the Society (Ra'iatea) and Austral (Ra'ivavae) Islands, Tahiti, and Easter Island. In Tahiti, on the boulder found at Tipaerui, the symbol is transformed into a complex design composed of two figures. The logic of construction of this figure can also be found, even more stylized, in the Marquesas, on the island of Hiva Oa (Tahauku).

## TENTATIVE DEFINITION OF THE LIZARD-MAN SYMBOL

The general aspect of these petroglyphs is close in appearance to that of a lizard clinging to a wall, but it also evokes the silhouette of a standing man. This posture is typical of stylized Polynesian representations of a human being, or the *enana* figure of the Marquesas (Figure 2a) (also found in Tahiti in the petroglyphs of the Tipaerui site). A similar figure can be found in the Hawaiian Islands (Figure 2b), but often with the arms in a 'down' position. The difference with the *enana* figures is the presence of a caudal appendage of large dimension. Emory, in his study of the Tipaerui petroglyph, perceives it as a stylization of the masculine sex, but we do not believe that it should merit such amplitude (although such is the case of the *tiki* of the Cook Islands; however, they are sculptures and that artistic artifice gave the object more stability when displayed). In the

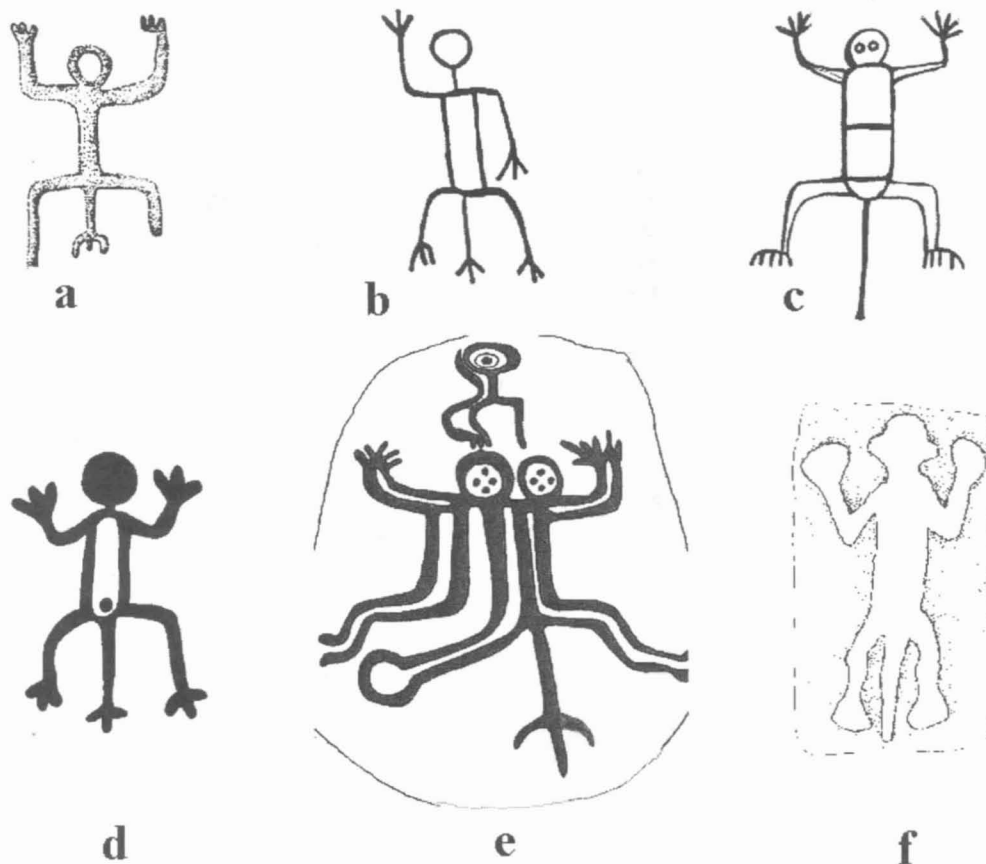


Figure 1. Six design examples that suggest a depiction of lizard-man: a) Marquesas, Hatiheu I; b) Marquesas, Hatiheu II; c) Marquesas, Ha'akapa (from Suggs 1961); d) Ra'iatea, Ha'apapara I (from Suggs 1961); drawing of Ha'apapara II not available; e) Tahiti, Tipaerui (now at Museum of Tahiti); f) Easter Island, Ahu Nau Nau (from Lee 1992).

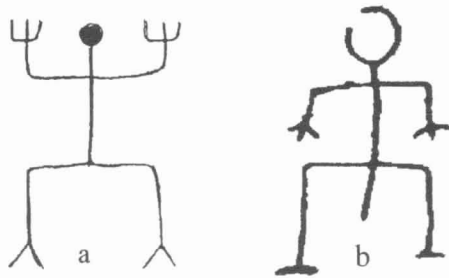


Figure 2. Enana figures: a) Marquesan; b) Hawaiian

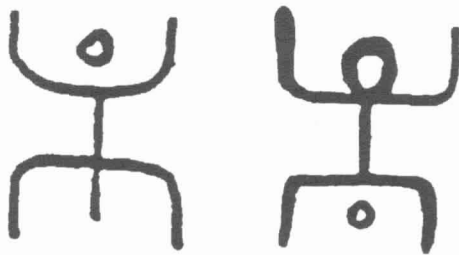


Figure 3. a) Male b) Female  
Marquesan petroglyphs (after Millerstrom 1990)

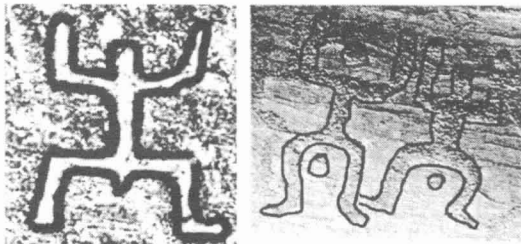


Figure 4. a) Male b) Female  
Bronze age Italy (from Rockartnet Database)

Marquesas (Figures 3a and 3b), the sexes are differentiated in the *enana* representations in the following way: masculine, a short vertical line between the legs and issuing from the trunk; feminine, a hollow or detached cupule between the legs. This interpretation of the differentiation of the sexes has been also determined elsewhere. For example, in Italy (Valcamonica) as seen in petroglyphs dating from the Bronze Age (Figures 4a and 4b). One can note the curious similarity of the stylized representations of humans in two geographical locations on opposite sides of the world. As far as the Polynesian world is concerned, we think that the different artists who carved the representations of lizard-man were fond of associating the characteristics of the reptile with those of the human.

#### ANALYSIS

Based on seven designs from Nuku Hiva (Marquesas Islands), Ra'iatea, Tahiti, and Easter Island (Figure 1), I will attempt to define what these representations have in common:

- 1) Size (cm): Hatiheu I: 80  
Hatiheu II: 65  
Ha'akapa: 90

Ha'apapara I: 110  
Ha'apapara II: 85  
Tipaerui: 120  
Easter Island: 170

- 2) Head represented by a circle: All, except Easter Island.
- 3) Marked neck: most
- 4) Rectangular trunk: most
- 5) Arms raised from the elbows up and elbows away from the body: All except for Ha'akapa II which has the right arm down, but bent from the elbow down; less evident for Tipaerui, which can be interpreted two ways.
- 6) Legs apart and bent at the knees: All
- 7) Hands: represented with fingers spread, with three fingers for most. A few variations: Ha'akapa: five fingers; Tipaerui: difficult to count based on the interpretation of this double figure. Easter Island: stylized in bas relief, but fingers spread.
- 8) Feet: toes spread, with three toes for most. A few variations: Ha'akapa: at right angles, five toes; Ha'apapara II: at right angles, but without toes; Tipaerui: hardly stylized, but at right angles.
- 9) Caudal appendage of large dimension: all. For most, the appendage extends past the feet.
- 10) Extremity of the caudal appendage: most with three "fingers" or claws. A few variations: Ha'apapara II: with two "fingers"; Easter Island: pointed.
- 11) Anatomic characteristics of the human body:  
Ha'apapara I: well marked navel  
Easter Island: ears

As for the large petroglyph of Tipaerui (Tahiti, Figure 1e) note that the figures are not to the same scale. Now, what exactly does this symbol mean? Is it of a deity, and what deity was being represented? How was it worshipped? We do not know, but in the text that follows, we will attempt to reach a solution. It is equally tempting to see the resemblance – in a very subjective way, I admit – to one an ancient Marquesan dance costume in which the *tapa* sash (*hami*) hangs in a long, thick braid dragging on the ground, thus giving the wearer a certain lizard-man appearance (Figure 5). We propose that the term lizard-man, first used by Suggs, be retained to designate this type of design in Polynesian art, and that the figure of Ha'apapara I be held as the normative symbol for lizard-man (Figure 1d).



Figure 5. Marquesan dancer.

#### REPTILES AS A THEME IN POLYNESIA

Various Polynesian legends make allusions to monstrous reptiles that ancient heroes had to battle. Such is the legend of

*mo'o rea* (yellow lizard) of the island of Eimeo (nowadays Mo'orea), and that of the lizard of Fataua of Tahiti. In the Tuamotus, the legend of the three brothers of Havaiki from the atoll Napuka tells of an amphibian people, the *moko rea*, who populated the ocean and sometimes mated with humans. (The *moko rea* is similar to the theme of the siren. A local joke is to warn fishermen setting off at night to resist responding to the solicitations of the *moko rea*. In local folklore, this would solve the enigma of missing fishermen). It is interesting to note that the inhabitants of Napuka claim to issue from Vavau Nui, which they place in the Marquesas. Vavau or Vevau is the ancient name of Atuona, Hiva Oa. In a general sense, it is the name of one of the first legendary lands from which the first Polynesians are said to have emigrated. In this island group a few legends involve demon-lizards (Elbert n.d., Lagarde 1933; Steinen 1925; Neich 1988), such as the battle of Māui with the lizard *nanaa* which had stolen his wife, and perhaps even the myth of the serpent *nata*, whose name is derived, according to the philologist F. W. Christian (1894), from the word *ngata* which is precisely how serpents are designated on the islands of Samoa, Tonga and Fiji. Although there is frequently a transposition made from serpent to eel in local myths, their distinguishing names remain. (Too often, eastern Polynesia is considered not to have serpents when thinking of the terrestrial reptile, but it is overlooking the presence of marine serpents that, although rare, have been recorded regularly in the literature about the islands). In the case of the large double petroglyph of Tipaerui in Tahiti, the representation of an eel or a serpent figures dominates the whole of the composition, as the Hawaiian researcher Emory (1961:298) observed. This figure assumes a particular importance in our study of this subject.

In 1894, F. W. Christian established the following linguistic relationship having to do with lizard:

Marquesan	<i>moko</i>	lizard or marine monster
Hawaiian	<i>moko</i>	a) any kind of lizard b) dragon, marine monster
Paumotu	<i>moko</i>	
Rarotonga	<i>moko</i>	
New Guinea	<i>woko, wog</i>	alligator
Hindustani	<i>magur, mugger</i>	crocodile of the Ganges

Christian (1910:232) adds: "In Māori traditions, in fact, in all the Polynesian legends, lizards are mentioned with repugnance and horror, and the name *mo'o* or *moko* is used to refer to the land of aquatic monsters, clearly showing the ancestral memory of the great man-eating lizards, left behind in the rivers and estuaries of their distant land of origin in South-east Asia".

Some reminiscences of this ancient Polynesian repugnance toward lizards were revealed in the Marquesas in 1813 by Commodore David Porter: "Animals of the reptilian species are lizards and centipedes; as a result of some superstitious notions, the natives are very frightened of the former, as they are of its eggs" (Porter 1813:132). Nowadays, this fright seems to have lessened. If some disgust is shown, it is likely to result from accidental physical contact with one of the reptiles, and

more prosaically for housewives, from the reptiles' excretion. Nevertheless, I have met at least one Marquesan woman who still refuses to wear any lizard-inspired ornament or jewelry. Upon questioning her, I learned that in her family tradition these reptiles are considered a supernatural cause of bad luck or death.

Steinen (1925) states: "If even we are now beginning to explain our dragons in terms of memories of the Mesozoic, we should not be surprised that the terrible imaginary creatures of the Polynesians might be echoed in their fear of lizards. Effectively, the general mythic concept of *moko* and *ngarara* is everywhere much greater than the zoological concept and includes demonic monsters of very varied species and anatomy, coming from mountain gorges, fresh water as well as the ocean."

We should make clear that a particular consideration has been given to the symbolism of the lizard among the ancient Marquesans. Besides the "lizard-man" recorded by Suggs, we know of at least one representation on the island of Ua Pou (on a slab of *keetu* of a *paepae* of the Hakaohoka Valley) recorded by Pierre Ottino, as well as a reference by Heyerdahl (1974:243) concerning the island of Fatu Hiva: "A large stone was covered with the familiar combination of depressions in the form of cuts and next to it, a slab of stone was sculpted in the form of a large lizard in accentuated relief. It was very ancient. I found it strange that an artist of yesteryear should have represented a small animal that he neither ate nor venerated, and that he should have made it so large. Moreover, there were neither caymans nor alligators in Polynesia.... No Polynesian would have taken the trouble to immortalize an enlarged one in stone. It was truly curious." Millerstrom (1990:61) inventoried four other representations, but without specifying their geographical location (two appear to be lizards, two are lizard-men with only three fingers on their hands and feet and with a trident at the end of the caudal appendage).

Thus, we have in eastern Polynesia some indications of an ancient knowledge of a large reptile. Is it the memory of a marine crocodile (*crocodilus porosus*) whose area of dispersion from Australia was principally Melanesia, but at times also the fringe of western Polynesia? Could lost individuals have been able to reach the islands of western Polynesia, including the Marquesas and the Tuamotu? Or was it another kind of reptile? In 1993, the local press announced the discovery of two iguanas on an atoll of the Tuamotu; it was assumed, without certainty, that a sailor coming from the Galapagos Islands had left them there. Or was it simply the strong transmission of a more distant tradition? We now give some details regarding the marine crocodile.

#### A GIANT REPTILE: THE MARINE CROCODILE

"It is also in Asia and more to the east that the largest crocodile lives: the incredible marine crocodile. Still called 'double-crested crocodile', the marine crocodile inhabits the coasts of Asia from India to Indonesia, and those of New Guinea and the north of Australia. It has even reached the Cocos-Keeling islands, some thousand kilometers from the nearest coast. In fact, it is an excellent swimmer. . . . A very large specimen was killed on the island of Luzon in the Philippines in 1823. It measured 8.22 meters. Its cranium is kept at Har-

vard University in the United States. . . . An even larger specimen was killed in July 1957 on the river Norman in northern Australia. It was 8.63 meters long and weighed two tons. . . . [T]he species can sometimes reach over nine meters. . . . a 9.76-meter subject [was] killed around 1956 in Borrooloola in the north of Australia. In the course of his expedition to New Guinea in 1956, the French traveler and writer Pierre Paillard discovered in the region of Sepik a crocodile cranium weighing about 150 kilos . . . . Therefore, the existence of marine crocodiles reaching or surpassing ten meters is not at all impossible. . . . Let us recall the astounding piece of information about a 'crocodile' of fifteen meters discovered in 1976 on the coast of Borneo. Was it an unknown marine monster? Or was it a marine crocodile beating all previous records for length? It is impossible to tell." (Barloy 1985:117).

Does there exist material proof that the marine crocodile could have existed in ancient times in eastern Polynesia? There is only a presumption presented by Ineich and Payre (1983): "Adamson (1936:64) indicates that Gerrit Wilder spoke to him in Honolulu in 1932 of the skeleton of a crocodile discovered in the phosphate mines of Makatea, a raised atoll in the Tuamotu archipelago, but this discovery was not published."

#### ANOTHER GIANT REPTILE? THE NEW ZEALAND *TANIWHA*

A well known Marquesan legend recorded by Steinen (1925) has to do with the islands of Fatu Hiva and Nuku Hiva. It concerns two eels, Kuee iti and Kuee nui. The first, a resident of Fatu Hiva, feeds on flowers and fruits, while the second is a monster residing at the foot of a waterfall on Nuku Hiva; it feeds on meat, even human flesh. The little eel invites the ogress to a river of her island where the larger eel cannot fit because of her size, and finds herself prisoner in a crevice, and is killed and eaten by the people. Hence, there is an ancient rivalry between the people of Nuku Hiva and Fatu Hiva. A parallel is established between this and another New Zealand legend that links them together. However, in the Māori version, there are two *taniwha*, mythic monsters resembling crocodiles or monitor lizards (Figure 6). Skinner wrote a remarkable article on the subject of *taniwha* and points out that a Māori legend about them originates from the island of Taha'a in the Society Islands (Skinner 1964:4). In his research about the presence of the crocodile or lizard in the material culture and myths of New Zealand, the author goes beyond its geographical limits to establish some comparisons with the other cultures of Oceania. Simon Best (1988:239-259), extending Skinner's work in his 1988 article "Here Be Dragons", identifies *taniwha* as the marine crocodile *porosus*, a few wandering specimens of which, he notes, reached the islands of Tonga, Samoa, Cook, Tokelau, and even the Society and Hawaiian Islands. However, a detail that differentiates the *taniwha* and the giant lizards of western Polynesia from the marine crocodile is that the former are more frequently reported to be terrestrial (caves, mountains) and not aquatic, as



Figure 6.  
New Zealand

are the latter. The habits of the *taniwha* and the giant lizards of Polynesia remind us rather of the giant monitor lizards of Australia, or even the komodo dragon of Indonesia.

### Themes by Polynesian Island Groups

#### THE LIZARD THEME, MARQUESAS AND NEW ZEALAND

My research is based on studies conducted by Suggs, with further comments on the research done on this subject by Steinen, following his stay in the Marquesas in 1897. Steinen (1925:102-109) develops the role of the lizard in Marquesan art and esotericism, establishing numerous comparisons with Māori culture: "In this context, we naturally arrive at a case of the incarnation of a god or of an escaped soul, which has acquired a special autonomy in comparison with the *tiki*, in the religious ideas and the artistic renderings which ensue from it. This god-medium is the lizard, which basically seems to have been of equal importance for all of Polynesia, and which can be recognized most evidently in New Zealand, Easter Island and the Marquesas. Rapanui is a chapter in itself." Lizards as well as sharks (which are also called *moko* in the Marquesas) are the descendants of the creator god *Tangaroa*, and are brothers, belonging to the fish category. When the sky violently separated from the land, the former sought refuge on land, the latter in the sea. To demonstrate, Steinen developed the theme of the lizard in New Zealand because the sources (of information) were more abundant there than in the Marquesas. According to Steinen, the use of the lizard figure in Māori art did not have a merely ornamental function, but also played the role of a protective symbol. He cites Cheeseman (1906:451), for a precise example of a protection *tapu* whose *mana* had been transferred to a more recent figure of a carved lizard entrusted with guarding the final rest of the occupants of a funerary grotto. "The lizard was endowed with powers of evil by magic incantations of our ancestors. He was placed there as guardian of the remains of the dead, so as to protect them from any intrusion. And the lizard had truly protected them. For one day, it happened that the grandfather of the narrator came to grotto with the remains of a relative. Inadvertently, he did not go around the lizard, but stepped over it. When he did the same thing upon leaving, the spirit of the lizard bit him. He immediately felt ill, went home and died."

Steinen stated that there are only two species of lizards in the Marquesas. The first is *Gecko oceanicus*, called *kaka'a* in the northern group and *nana'a* in the southern group. The second is different, having alternating yellow and green stripes. This is the species *Scincidae*, locally called *moko*. In New Zealand all lizards as a group have the name *ngarara* from which we can easily conceive of the Marquesan transposition: *nana'a* – *kaka'a*; another term is *moko*, which in New Zealand is also synonymous with tattooing; *moko papa* being the Māori word for *gecko*. The most curious piece of information is that the ancient Māori and Marquesans grouped lizards in the same family as fishes in acknowledgment of their marine features. The marine *nana'a* "more than 40 cm long, is of a dull gray and has small scales on his neck only; its tail ends like that of a fish. They live at great depths, and when they are caught, are thrown away." As for the marine *moko*, it is only half as large, has no



scales, and is of the same color as the land *moko*." This is surprising information in view of our present knowledge of the marine fauna of the Marquesas. Could it be a variation of the marine iguana? It is tempting to liken it to the theme of *moko rea* of the atoll of Napuka.

Another piece of information recorded on Fatu Hiva reveals that the lizard (*nana'a*) can be used as a receptacle of the soul of the dead in certain funerary circumstances, a tradition that existed in Tahiti and recorded well before Steinen by Mørenhout in 1837. In Steinen's study of Marquesan art, he notes the existence of a symbiosis between the representations of *tiki*, of gods (*etua*), and of lizards, often grouped together on the same base. In his study on tattooing, Steinen (1925:190) observes that the most remarkable fact was the mutual relationship (in the use of tattoo designs) between the turtle and the lizard. He also notes that human figures cannot be confused with those representing lizards in tattoos, for the latter "are differentiated only by the tail, which extends longitudinally in the quadruped." He also remarks that the lizard tattoo design is easily recognizable and appears to be reserved for women, who occasionally wore lizard designs on their legs and below their ears. "This design has completely disappeared among males" (ibid.:160).

According to Steinen (1925:107): "Nowhere does there exist a rather large sculpture of a lizard that has been preserved or even described. However, Jouan (1857) described a feast that lasted three days and that seems typical: 'A kind of altar, decorated with foliage and massive statues, among which that of a seated man and another one representing a monstrous lizard. This altar had been raised on one side of the public square. There are often craniums of enemies killed at war displayed there.'"

In contradiction to Steinen, we note the long-standing gift to the Tahiti Museum of a black stone statuette representing a lizard-god, or *Tiki Moko*, from the Marquesas, about which an article appeared in the *Bulletin de la Société des Études Océaniques*. In his study, Steinen seems to refute the fact that the stone had been used as material for the representation of a lizard. As for myself, I was able to admire a beautiful stone lizard in Tahiti, made in ancient times, carved atop a base and having belonged to a family from the Marquesas Islands. The article states: "The *Moko* represents the goddess of crustaceans, lobsters, *poi* (edible shellfish) eels, and *mama* (*Chitonidae*), called *Temoonieve* (*Temoo*, "lizard"; *nieve*, "thin stripes", hence "lizard with thin stripes"). . . Fishermen had a particular cult for this goddess" (Lagarde 1933:259).

From the previous information we can deduce that:

The term *moko* in the Marquesas indeed designates the lizard of the genus *Scincidae*; this lizard had a supernatural relationship with the marine habitat; and the representation of this lizard was reserved for women.

We now open a parenthesis on the turtle-lizard relation. In a fairly recent study, Rolett (1989:1613-1636) commented about a panel of petroglyphs that he had discovered at Hatiheu (Nuku Hiva). In this study he did not identify a lizard design in proximity of a group of turtles; it is true that the latter can be confused with the *enana* design. He established that the turtle symbol in Marquesan petroglyphs is in homage to the fact that

this marine reptile has the capacity to communicate between two worlds, terrestrial and marine, and therefore, to have access to *Hawaiki*, the realm of the souls (whose portals, let us remember, is located under the sea, according to Marquesan tradition). Equally endowed with this capacity, the Marquesan *taua* "was also considered able of communicating between two worlds, that of mortals and that of deities" (ibid.) If the turtle appears to be the prerogative of the masculine sex, (consuming its flesh, by supernatural symbolism, was prohibited to women throughout Polynesia), we have just seen that the lizard was likewise considered a supernatural carrier, since it was capable of acting as a receptacle for human souls at the instant of death, and that the lizard symbol seems to be linked to both the feminine sex and to the marine environment through the goddess *Temoonieve*. Would this explain that the tattoo representations of lizards might have been reserved exclusively for women, as claimed by Steinen?

#### A SPECIFIC CASE: THE *TANIWHA* OF NEW ZEALAND

The reality of the existence, or not, of this reptile of Māori tradition has aroused much controversy. Certain authors tend to believe it is a confusion with the accidental presence of the marine crocodile, others consider it the transmission of the knowledge of its existence by emigrants coming from other archipelagoes, and a few others agree on the veracity of the Māori tales defining the animal as a variety of reptile yet to be identified. Without entering into the polemic, we will list the characteristics of *taniwha* as expressed in the tradition, according to the work of Nevermann (1947, translated by R.C. Suggs, whom we thank for kindly forwarding this exceptional document).

*Origin of sources:* Besides Māori legends, Cook was the first to mention it.

*General traits:* Described as being in the family of the *ngarara*, or lizard, or even a species of *tuatara*. "*Sphenodon punctatus*, the antediluvian *tuatara* or 'spiny back' whose closest relatives are found in the geologic strata of the European Jurassic. And who, because of this fact and due to its third eye, could seem the strangest. The collective name of the entire company is 'ngarara'" (Steinen 1925:102).

*Very large size:* The size is often compared to that of a whale, a giant eel, or a moving mountain. It troubles the waters of lakes and rivers with great waves when it moves about underwater. In 1896 in the magazine *Otago News*, an unknown author noted a giant fish of twelve meters in length in a freshwater pond, with a snout like that of a bird, a neck of about 1.8 meters circumference and two little paws.

*Habitat:* In the sea, rivers and lakes, but most often living on land, in caves and sometimes far away in the mountains.

*Density and sex:* Individuals sufficiently few that each was given a name in Māori tradition. Dividing themselves up, males and females live either alone or in couples. A legend tells of the case of a family having eleven offspring, who lived in the delta of the river Hokianga. The children soon leave, each to settle in a different isolated spot: in rivers, lakes, but also in the mountains.

*Anatomical description:* One legend describes precisely the carving up of one of them, the *taniwha* Hotupuku, who was

devouring people along the road from Taupo to Rotorua.

- Emits roars like the thunder.
- As long as a whale or a sperm whale.
- Has the face of a giant lizard.
- Has an erect crest with frightful spines.

Its head, legs, feet, claws, tail, scales, skin and the various spines on its body resemble those of the *tuatara*. Under its skin, a thick layer of fat was found, and in its stomach, human bodies partially devoured, some whale bone weapons, some shark teeth, etc. . .

*Skin color*: white, one case described as "fire red."

*Social relations*: Some *taniwha* were considered as protectors of certain Māori clans and possessed their own *mana*, but were demanding in terms of human sacrifices, with a preference for young maidens. Others lay in ambush along roads or on the shores of lakes and helped themselves. The *taniwha* were made the object of systematic extermination seemingly soon before the arrival of Europeans, even as late as the beginning of their settlement. Their flesh was consumed by the Māori population.

That is what we can deduce from the legends compiled by Nevermann (1995).

So, the *taniwha*, a fabrication of those jokers, the Māori, like the *moa* which their ancestors used to hunt; the wandering *Crocodylus porosus*; legends spread and amplified from other island groups; or was this a now-extinct reptile endemic to New Zealand?

#### THE LIZARD THEME ON EASTER ISLAND

On Easter Island, the term *moko* is also used to designate small lizards. According to Métraux (1971:18), "... they have haunted the imagination of the Easter islanders, who have carved ceremonial objects in their shape." Among them was the image used to protect the low entrance of the houses, being either carved in wood or painted on *tapa* (ibid.:265). On this point we can see a similarity with the Marquesan and Māori cultures, in which the lizard designs were used to decorate house posts. Steinen (1925:102-9) not only recovered one of these carved posts, measuring 179 cm, and showing two reptiles from a funerary enclosure of Atuona (Hiva Oa), but also saw another representation in Ha'atuatua (Nuku Hiva).

Métraux, who was able to study various carved objects in museums, observed that the lizard figures combine a flat triangular head with other characteristics derived from the human image, but that the tail ends like that of a bird.

On Easter Island, two of these images were used, one on each side of the door: "very probably they were used to protect the inhabitants of the house against evil spirits" (Métraux 1971:265). Routledge (1919:243) noted the fact that when a new house was built, "the wooden lizards were ceremoniously placed on either side of the porch entrance." They may have been used as clubs to defend the dwelling.

According to Forment (1990) "The figure of lizard-man carries the name of *moai tangata moko* and can be found as a statue or in relief". We can cite the very beautiful bas relief petroglyph on the seawall of Ahu Nau Nau at Anakena (Figure 1f). Lee (1992:169) suggests that this lizard-man might be associated with the god Tangaroa in the guise of a lizard. Aside

from the lizard-man form from Ahu Nau Nau, few petroglyphs depict lizards on Easter Island. One of these is huge, 330 cm long, carved over a sloping section of lava. A legend is associated with this petroglyph: it tells of a man who had second sight, able to see where people had hidden their belongings. He stole the items, and later was found lying dead with his head turned into that of a lizard (Routledge, n.d.). The petroglyph is on sloping lava flow with its "head" on ground level where the lava has naturally formed the shape of a lizard head (Lee 1992:99-100).

Oral tradition and written texts from Easter Island designate the lizard *moko* as a frightening creature from hell. As well, the lizard theme seems to be associated with a certain form of sexuality for, as seen in wood carvings (Figure 7), vulva (*komari*) designs are often found under the chins of lizards and lizard-men. Lizards are considered evil beings; they can, for example, penetrate the body's orifices so as to cause illness or death (Oldman 1943:51). Folk tales from Easter Island tell of lizards who ran up the legs of women and impregnated them and the women subsequently gave birth to lizards.

Some of these images were used in dances, hanging from the dancers' neck or worn on the lower arms and shaken rhythmically. Forment (1993:208) states that lizard statuettes were employed in the course of sarcastic chants. Certain moves used in performances were combat simulations; others were vulgar. The latter were described as "obscene" by Europeans. (Whereas *komari* designates the vulva on Easter Island, *koma'i* is the common designation for both sexes in contemporary Marquesan). In New Zealand, the same fear was observed: "All illnesses came from the gods. But more than any other animal, it was a peculiarity special to the form of the lizard to be perfectly well adapted to become a demon of illness. These evil divinities forced their way into every natural orifice of the human body and devoured the entrails" (Steinen 1925:102-9).

In the realm of Easter Island legends, a lizard-woman and a bird-woman are said to be the originators of the art of tattooing. Lizard-woman had the name of *Moko*; here again one is tempted to see a similarity with New Zealand where the term *moko* is synonymous with tattooing!

#### THE LIZARD THEME IN HAWAII

The term *mo'o*, according to N.B. Emerson (1915), "designates an indefinable reptile, a kind of monster-like dragon that spits fire and swims like a sea serpent. . . and that is forever the enemy of humankind"; one could liken it to the myth of the *taniwha* of New Zealand. Beckwith (1971:332) spoke of the great *mo'o* as being the helpful animal of popular stories, and one of the forms of demi-gods. *Mo'o* can be male or female and have had experiences with humans; some are even their grandparents (legend of Aukele Nui Aiku). The gods themselves sometimes confront the *mo'o* (legends of the goddess Hi'i'aka, of Hina and of the *mo'o* Kuna).



Figure 7. Easter Island, lizard design on wood carving.

### THE LIZARD THEME IN THE SOCIETY ISLANDS

The writings of Teuira Henry attest to the sacred role played by these reptiles. However, contrary to Māori, Marquesan and Easter Island sources, the various species of lizards appear instead to have a beneficial role. For instance, one of the lizards, the *mo'o areva*, was the incarnation of *Tipa*, the god of healing (Henry 1968:395). So, we are far from the common theme of the three previous cultures, that of the lizard as bearer of supernatural illnesses. Nevertheless, two Tahitian legends make allusion to the monstrous character of certain reptiles: the well-known tale of the giant lizard of *Fataua* who devoured two children, and that of the birth of a boy engendered by the mating of a chief of Papeno'o and the female demon-lizard *Mo'o tau raha* (ibid.:630). There is a third Tahitian legend having to do with the Vaipouri cave in the district of Te Ahu Po'o where several giant lizards lived. According to the Tahitian writer Charles Manu-Tahi (1992:60), these lizards had long necks and were herbivores. The young hero Vei hid in this cave with his fiancée and killed two of the lizards; then, other monsters appeared but a monstrous caterpillar, the true guardian of this place, came to the rescue of the two imprudent youths. It is said that these giant lizards had no soul and only served as food for the caterpillar.

Although ancient sources indicate that long ago there was the image of a lizard on one of the *marae* of Tahiti, there are few allusions to the use of this design in Tahitian art. As for the other islands, Ra'iatea deserves a particularly important mention for what we have developed on the subject of petroglyphs; there was a pit in the crater of the Temehani, which was the lair of a monster whose traces could only be found in the dirt or on the ferns. The legend tells that a chief, Tai'e, intent on doing away with the monster, had himself lowered by his subjects into the pit by a rope; when it was raised, all that remained was the skeleton devoid of any flesh (ibid.). There is also mention of a monster equivalent to the *taniwha* of New Zealand in the island of Taha'a. Very recent news (1998) has informed us of the existence of this theme in the island of Maupiti, where a young maiden loved a giant lizard who lived in a cave on the island, but sometimes went to Mount Temehani on Ra'iatea (legend of Hinaraurea and the giant lizard from a document of M.M. Piriouta Rosine, transmitted by the council of Maupiti).

In all of the texts at our disposal on the subject of the Society Islands, the ancient authors and the collected legends say little about the supernatural role that the lizard might have played. However, Moerenhout (1837:455-7) relates that, as in the Marquesas and New Zealand, the approach of a reptile could be considered a sign of impending death for the one who had chosen it as a totem spirit. In the case of death, the latter having become the receptacle for the soul of the deceased could then become the subject of affection for the relatives.

### THE LIZARD THEME IN THE AUSTRAL ISLANDS

There is little data here. However, in the island of Rurutu there is a place called Ana Mo'o, or "lizard cave." Vérin (1969:55) recounts the legend of a woman named Ina-I-Te-Pui who rested in the cave and was devoured by the giant lizard that dwelled there. She managed to cut the entrails of the mon-

ster with a scraping tool, and get away. Another curious citation that is a bit off the subject, but indicates the existence of another mythic being, is the legend of the hole of Orovaru by the seashore in Moera'i, where a siren had been captured with a net (Bailleul 1983). She had fish gills instead of ears. "She was said to have had the children of a resident of Rurutu, then to have returned to the depths" (Vérin 1969:42). Vetaria is another site with its legend of Rua a Orovaru ("Orovaru" or "Oravaru" both refer to a place on the island of Atiu in the Cook Archipelago), where the siren appeared first, but here the location was an underground hole. It has been noted that it is Orovaru who taught women to give birth normally. (This curiously concurs with the Marquesan theme of the "island of women" reported by Steinen, although it has to do with a man, but he, too, comes from the sea). The name of Orovaru is known in the Tuamotus, but here it is a poetic allusion to the god of music (Buck 1952:177). Within the Austral Islands, this legend can be partially likened to the home of the god Rua-Hatu on the reef of Ra'ivavae (Henry 1968:473). This god of the ocean has two bodies; half god, half human, he would show himself to humans in the form of a water sprite. Fairly recent research by Edmundo Edwards for the Tahiti Department of Archeology has brought to light a petroglyph of a lizard, but whose tail has the shape of that of a fish or a bird (Figure 8).

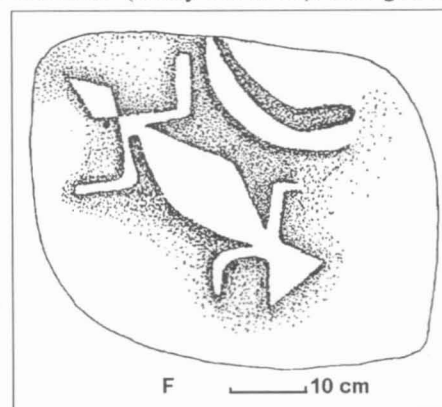


Figure 8. Petroglyph of a lizard with an oddly shaped tail, Ra'ivavae (Drawing by Edmundo Edwards).

### THE THREE-FINGERED HAND

As it turns out, New Zealand, through its Māori art, is the source of further information shedding new light on interpreting the lizard-man symbol. This time we are dealing with the representation of three-fingered hands.

In a quick presentation on the characteristics of Māori art, Phillips (1993) established a classification of the different themes present in woodcarvings. The representation of figures' hands and feet having only three fingers is considered a characteristic of the most ancient sculptures. Various legends or interpretations explain this strange representation of the extremities of the human body. Thus, three fingers did not indicate a deformity, but a sign of a reptile god ancestor. Carved effigies of ancestors are shown with three fingers as a sign that such were men of god-like descent. Other explanations argue that whether it was *Nuku-wai-teko* (or *Mutu-wai-teko*), the first Māori sculptor, and from the legendary *Hawaiki*, or whether it was *Tiki*, the first man, they both had only three fingers on each hand. Certain ancient sculptors considered, according to the canons of their art, that only the figures having hands with



five fingers represented "true humans."

From this we conclude that, among the Māori, the representation of a three-fingered figure signifies its super-human nature, its relation to a mythic or supernatural origin. Given the close relation existing between the ancient Polynesian cultures of the Māori and the Marquesans, we are tempted to believe that the traditions of one apply to the other.

- Marquesan culture contributed to that of the Māori. This working hypothesis is the most accepted in the present state of our knowledge about the settlement of the Polynesian triangle.
- Māori culture contributed to the Marquesan.
- Or the two cultures received common and simultaneous cultural contributions from a source of emigration that has yet to be determined.

In the Cook Islands, which are geographically mid-way between New Zealand and the Society Islands, the theme of the three fingers was also present in local art (Figure 9).

For the rest of French Polynesia, it seems that the three-finger theme was used in the Society and Austral Islands. In the Tuamotu and Gambier Islands we do not yet have sufficient information. The figures of the superb panel of petroglyphs at the Ha'apapara site on the island of Ra'iatea (Society Islands), demonstrate the specific purpose for the use of the three-finger design: on the same stone base, large-scale representations of three-fingered lizard-men (supernatural representation) share their rocky space with a typical "enana" design with five well marked, even exaggerated fingers (human representation). Thus, there was a willingness at this site to use appropriate symbolism to differentiate the "reading" of the figures.

Incidentally, we note that the general aspect of this panel from the Society Islands – the shape of the symbols, the association of human and animal figures, turtles, the presence of cupules, the choice of a site in the interior of the island, the rounded shape of the stone base – resembles the style of the petroglyph panels in the Marquesas.

On the island of Mo'orea, the recent discovery (1991) of the Tefaarahi site has permitted the identification of several petroglyphs spread around some isolated rocks. A couple of figures are represented in the *enana* style (arms and legs spread out and bent at right angles), with hands having three well-spread fingers and no toes on the feet. In Tahiti, the large petroglyph of Tipaerui appears to represent two figures with three-fingered hands, according to the deciphering of this composition. The construction logic of this figure corresponds to that of a Marquesan petroglyph of the Tahauku Valley (Hiva Oa), as we will establish (see below). Most probably, there are many petroglyphs yet to be discovered and recorded in the Society Islands. According to Maeva Navarro, then director of the Archeology Department at Centre Polynésien des Sciences



Figure 9. Cook Islands

Humaines in Tahiti, a petroglyph of the lizard-man type was discovered at some altitude on the island in the 1990's during road construction in the Papeno'o Valley. Unfortunately, the petroglyph was stolen. Study of more petroglyph sites will allow the refinement of the "three-finger" theme; however, we can already affirm the presence of this pictorial theme and the fact that its use corresponds to an appropriate symbolism; it was not a haphazard inspiration on the part of the artist.

In the Austral Islands, on island of Tubua'i, the author discovered a small figure carved on one of the raised stones marking the access to a settlement *paepae*. Its feet and one hand had three fingers.

In the Hawaiian Islands, many figures of the *enana* type, carved into the ancient lava flows, have fingers shown. These vary in numbers, but many of them have three fingers (Lee and Stasack 1999). Arms may be up or down, or shown with one up, one down.

Now, to return to the Polynesian lizard-man figures, we observe that several of the designs that came to our attention have three fingers at the extremities of their appendages, and a tail that sometimes ends in a three-pronged (three-clawed, or three-fingered) spear. Should we see into this representation the symbolism of the masculine sex, as Emory supposes in his analysis of the large Tahitian petroglyph of Tipaerui, based on his knowledge of Hawaiian petroglyphs? Should we take it to be a stylized caudal appendage armed with a spiny defensive system as is the case among certain saurian specimens? Should we read into it the reminiscence of the attribute of a non-Polynesian deity, like the trident of Poseidon, emperor of the seas, or of Shiva, the destroyer? Or should we evoke a connection to South America?

#### REFLECTIONS ON THE THREE FINGER THEME (FIGURE 10)

Why go as far as Ninevah? In his study of the art of the Māori of New Zealand, Phillips (1993) established a few comparisons with the representations from other cultures. He cites some analogies with figures from Peru, and likens them to Māori figures called *manaia*. These are representations of mythic beings, which have the peculiarity of being shown in profile. He notes an affinity between the conceptions of these figures and that of the birdman of Easter Island. In the Hawaiian Islands, the artistic conception of *manaia* was known by that name, and also represented the birdman. In fact, some petroglyphs of these islands show some hybrid beings with the body of a human and the head of a bird, but seen frontally. In his work, it is interesting that the Peruvian figure, used in comparison with the *manaia* design should be associated with another figure from the same geographical area that represents a being that is half man, half dragon or lizard. The two figures have three-fingered extremities. A study, conducted by researchers from New Zealand to deepen knowledge of this characteristic of ancient art throughout the world, states that:

- A plaque found in the palace at Knossos, on the island of Crete, shows two figures, each having hands with three fingers and feet with three toes. These same three-fingered representations were used in the sculpture of India (JPS 242).



- The hand of Fatima, a well-known symbol, represented with three joined fingers, is used as a protective marker at the entrance of homes to ward off evil influences (Tregear 1920:224).
- "All over the world, three-fingered hands appear among ancient works of art: on European tombs, in Japanese sculptures, in Peru, etc. . . It was an ancient Chinese ideogram for man. On ancient Greek and Indian sculptures. . . On the ancient sculptures of Nineva, there are the "three fingers". . . That is so old – the origin is lost . . . Why go as far back as Ninevah?" (Best 1988:18).

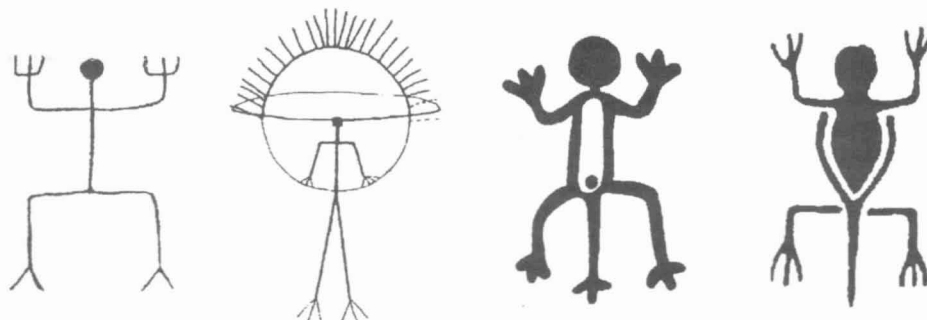


Figure 10. Three fingers: Marquesas; Australs; Lizard man (Society Islands); and Mexico.

#### WHAT IF WE WENT FARTHER BACK THAN NINEVAH?

Depending on the meager documentation at our disposal and through the magic of computer technology, we are pleased to have undertaken a study in comparative iconography on the theme of the "three fingers." It is very far from being exhaustive, but allows, with caution, some preliminary conclusions:

The representation of the three-fingered hand dates back to great antiquity and appears to be universal; it is what Steinen (1925) defines as "the old three-fingered hand." We have some examples of it beyond the Pacific area in the Luristan seals, in Brazilian rock paintings, in Columbia, Mexico (Figure 11), and Peru. In the Pacific, we see it in French Polynesia, Hawai'i, New Zealand, and New Caledonia, etc. However, in Polynesia, the fact that figures with three and with five fingers appear simultaneously on the same petroglyph panels seems to signify the intention to differentiate in the distribution of these symbols.

The three-fingered figures sometimes represent mythic beings, half man and half animal. In Polynesia, the most frequent hybrid seems to be of a man and a kind of reptile.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Some ancient societies appear to have developed common pictorial concepts at different periods of time and in widespread geographical locations throughout the world. Should we infer the transmission of an archaic tradition – and therefore, con-



Figure 11. Mexico

tact – whose memory was perpetuated in the cultural isolates of the Pacific islands until European intrusion in the waters of the big ocean? Or are we dealing with an archetype that is integrated into the cerebral perception of so-called primitive societies?

An interesting approach is that shared among a few specialists who have noted the similarity of many rock art symbols throughout the world. According to their conclusions, it could be the reproduction of shamans' visions. Primitive societies, for the most part, have had some member whose role it was to intercede with the higher powers by means of ecstasy or drugs to achieve altered states of consciousness. Without dwelling further on the subject, it turns out that the practice of shamanism leads its practitioners, depending on the stimuli, to have practically identical perceptions (geometrical forms, colors, order of visions), hence, the universality of certain symbols. They may be an artistic reproduction of the mental perception of the various physiological responses, such as inner optic phenomena and phosphores (Puharich 1979; Hyder and Lee 1994). Furthermore, if we consider that shamans identify with a totem-animal, which guides them on their journey, we need only recall the lizard's role in Poly-

nesia as that of a god-medium to see the symbol of lizard-man in a new light.

The question has been asked, but I leave it for others to answer it. For my part, I can only establish the relationships that follow between the various recorded symbols. Having only superficial knowledge of the cultures from which these representations come, I am very aware of the inanity of my approach and of the criticism to which I am exposing myself. Nevertheless, the years have taught me that we can only be certain of one thing, and that is that nothing is certain; if my reflections elicit doubt among pre-existing convictions, this work will have been useful.

What I have submitted is in progress and I wait for supplementary elements of comparison. Nevertheless, it is sufficiently complete to advance our preliminary conclusions: In eastern Polynesia, the lizard-man symbol originates from the same concept and proceeds from the Marquesas, to the Windward Society Islands by way of the Leeward Islands; and the same theme can be found on Easter Island. As a continuation, I will endeavor to demonstrate that the large Tahitian petroglyph of Tipaerui is a representation inspired by lizard-man, and that a common conceptual logic likens this Tahitian petroglyph to the art of the Marquesas.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to express his thanks for their friendly and valuable help to: Marie-Noëlle de Bergh-Ottino, Pierre Ottino, Sidsel Millerstrom, Anne Lavondès, R. C. Suggs, Ben Finney, Jean Pagès, Heidi Baumgartner, Margaret Mutu-Krieg, as well as to Louise Noël for kindly translating this document to English.

## REFERENCES

- Adamson, A.M. 1936. *Marquesan Insects*. Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
- Baileul, M. 1983. Légendes des Îles Australes Recueil Présenté par un Groupe d'Élèves du Collège de Mataura. *PAE*.
- Barloy, J.J. 1985. *Les Survivants de l'Ombre*. Arthaud, Paris.
- Beckwith, M. 1971. *Hawaiian Mythology*. University of Hawai'i Press.
- Beslu, C. 1970. Rapport sur la Mise en Valeur du Petroglyphe de la Vallée de la Tiparui et sur la Découverte d'autres Gravures. *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Océaniques* 170:298-305.
- Best, S. 1988. Here be Dragons. *Journal de la Société Océanistes* 97 (3):239-257.
- Buck, P. 1952. *Les Migrations des Polynésiens*. Payot, Paris.
- Burnel (Nicolas, François). 1865. Les Îles Marquises, *Messenger de Tahiti*, 15<sup>ème</sup> année, mars.
- Candelot, J.-L. 1980. Note Préliminaire sur les Pierres Gravées de Tubuai. Recherches en Préhistoire Océanique. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, 66-67:133-138. Paris.
- Cheeseman, T. F. 1906. Notes on Certain Māori Carved Burial Chests in the Auckland Museum. *Transactions and Proceedings. New Zealand Institute* 39:451.
- Christian, F. W. 1910. *Eastern Pacific Lands*. Scott, London.
- Cox, J. H. 1972. Les Pétroglyphes des Îles Hawaïennes. *Revue archéologia* 46:27-35. 1972
- Danielsson, B. 1954. Contributions to Marquesan Archaeology. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 63.
- Département Archeologie du Centre des Sciences Humaines 'Te Avanaharau' de Tahiti. 1987. *Pétroglyphes de Raiatea, Bora Bora, Huahiné*. Polytram, Tahiti.
- Elbert, S. n.d. Marquesan Legends Collected and Translated by S. H. Elbert. Archives du Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum.
- Emerson, N. B. 1915. *Pele and Hiiaka: A Myth from Hawaii*. Honolulu.
- Emory, K. 1961. Le Rocher des Pétroglyphes de Tipaerui. *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Océaniques* 179.
- Forment, F., ed. 1990. *L'Île de Pâques: Une Enigme?* Catalogue d'une Exposition à Bruxelles. Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire. Verlag Phillip von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein. [Notes transmises par M. de Bergh-Ottino].
- Forment, F. 1993. You are Crab, Crayfish, and Octopus. Personal and Group Symbols in Rapanui Wood Sculpture. *Easter Island Studies. Contributions to the History of Rapanui in Memory of William T. Mulloy*. S. R. Fischer, ed.:206-213. Oxbow Monograph 32. Oxford.
- Frimigacci, D. and J. Monnin. 1980. Un Inventaire des Pétroglyphes de Nouvelle-Calédonie. Recherches en Préhistoire Océanique. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 66-67:17-59. Paris.
- Handy, E. 1943. Two Unique Petroglyphs in the Marquesas Which Point to Easter Island and Malaysia. *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Anthropology and Ethnology*, 20:22-31.
- Henry, T. 1968. *Tahiti aux Temps Anciens*. Traduit de l'Anglais par B. Jaunez Publications de la Société des Océanistes no 1. Musée d'Homme, Paris.
- Heyerdahl, T. 1974. *Fatu Hiva*. Doubleday and Co., New York.
- Hyder, W. and G. Lee. 1994. The Shamanic Tradition in Chumash Rock Art. Article sur Internet <http://zzyx.ucsc.edu/Comp/Bill/shamstrad.html>
- Ineich, I. and M. Payre. 1983. Composition et Distribution de la Faune des Reptiles Terrestres en Polynésie Française. *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Océaniques* 223:1323-1335. Pape'ete.
- Ineich, I. 1986. Histoire Naturelle du Serpent Marin. *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Océaniques* 236:1. Pape'ete.
- Ineich, I. 1988. Le Lézard dans l'Art Océanien, les Légendes et la Littérature en Océanie. *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Océaniques* 243:40-47. Pape'ete.
- Jouan, H. 1857. Archipel des Marquises, *Revue Coloniale*. Paris.
- Journal of Polynesian Society* (editor). 1919. The Three Fingers and the Māori Carving. Vol. 28:242.
- Lagarde, M.G. 1933. Le Tiki-lezard. *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Océaniques*, 49:259.
- Lee, G. 1992. *The Rock Art of Easter Island. Symbols of Power, Prayers to the Gods*. Institute of Archaeology, UCLA.
- Lee, G. and E. Stasack. 1999. *Spirit of Place. Petroglyphs of Hawaii*. The Easter Island Foundation, Los Osos, California.
- Linton, Ralph. 1971. *Archaeology of the Marquesas Islands*. Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 23, Reprint.
- Manu-Tahi, C. 1992. *Le mystère de l'univers maohi*. Editions Veia Rai. Polytram, Tahiti.
- Métraux, A. 1971. *Ethnology of Easter Island*. Berenice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 160, Honolulu.
- Millerstrom, S. 1990. Rock art of Marquesas Islands, French Polynesia. A Case Study of Hatiheu Valley, Nuku Hiva. M. A. Thesis, San Francisco State University.
- Millerstrom, S. 1997. Carved and painted rock images in the Marquesas Islands. *Archaeologia Oceania* 32:181-196.
- Moerenhout, J.-A. 1837. *Voyages aux Îles du Grand Océan*. A. Bertrand, Paris.
- Nevermann, H. 1947. *Goetter der Suedsee: Die Religion der Polynesier*. Speman Verlag, Stuttgart.
- Oldman, W. O. 1943. *The Oldman Collection of Polynesian Artifacts*. Memoirs of the Polynesian Society 15. The Polynesian Society, New Plymouth.
- Ottino, P. 1985. Archéologie des Îles Marquises. Contribution à la Connaissance de l'Île de Ua Pou. Thèse de 3<sup>ème</sup> cycle en Ethnologie Préhistorique. Sorbonne.
- Ottino, P. 1997. Les Petroglyphs de la Crête de Vaihi, Vallée de Hapaa, Ile de Nuku Hiva.
- Phillips, W. J. 1993. *Māori Carving Illustrated*. Reed Books, Singapore.
- Puharich, A. 1979. Techniques de l'Extase. *Les Pouvoirs Inconnus de l'Homme*. Tchou Editeur :183-199. France.
- Porter, D. 1823. *A Voyage to the South Seas in the Years 1812, 1813, 1814*. London.
- Rolett, B. 1984. Les Tortues et le Passage dans l'Au-delà Marquisien. *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Océaniques* 228:1613-1636. Pape'ete.
- Routledge, K. n.d. (1914-15). Field notes. Royal Geographic Society, London.
- Routledge, K. 1919. *The Mystery of Easter Island*. Hazell, Watson and Viney, London.
- Schmidt, P. K. and W. Necker. 1933. The Lizards of the Marquesas Islands. *Pacific Entomologic Survey, Publication* 5. Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Occasional Papers X (2). Honolulu.
- Skinner, H. D. 1964. Crocodile and Lizard in New Zealand Myth and Material Culture. *Records of the Otago Museum*, Number 1. New Zealand.
- Steinen, K.von den. 1925. *Die Marquesaner und ihre Kunst*. Bandi Tatauierung, V.I. Berlin.
- Suggs, R.C. 1961. *The Archaeology of Nuku Hiva, Marquesas Islands, French Polynesia*. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History Vol. 49(1), New York.
- Tregear, E. 1920. Three Fingers in Maori Carving. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 29.
- Verin, P. 1969. L'Ancienne Civilisation de Rurutu. *Mémoires Orstom* 33. Paris.